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TO THE
Labouring Classes

IN

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

On the

Report of the Finance Committee, relative to Sinecure Places, which Committee was appointed at the beginning of the Session in January, 1817, and which Report is dated on the 28th of March, 1817.—Also, on the project for relieving the Poor by the means of the Exchequer Bills.

North-Hampstead, Long-Island,
June 22, 1817.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

To the honour of the fair sex be it acknowledged, that they are always ready to pardon those indiscretions, even if they amount to little crimes, which have been produced by the irresistible power of their own charms; in which spirit of lenity, as well as of justice, we my friends, shall, I trust, proceed upon this occasion. 'Tis true, the sons of Corruption have, as to the Report relative to Sinecures, lied exceedingly. More than their usual proportion of hypocrisy, falsehood and impudence has been employed in this emergency; but, as these extraordinary exertions may be fairly ascribed to their fears of the people, and, as the existence of those fears are the highest possible compliment to your good sense, public spirit, and resolution, we ought to enter into an examination of these exertions with a mixed feeling of contempt and compassion rather than with feelings of anger and indignation. True, all they have said is false. True, they have lied sufficiently to put even the

Devil, or, what is more, the Doctor, to the blush; but, it must be confessed, that the sin has, in this case, been extorted by the fears which they have of the people. It is offering at the shrine of public spirit and virtuous perseverance; and let us receive it without anger, as the Virgin Mary, at Loretto, receives the offerings extorted by the fears of robbers and murderers.

By "Sons of Corruption" you will, of course, know that I cannot possibly allude, in the most distant manner to any of the persons who have made the Report, or who have ordered it to be printed, or with whom the Committee who have made it originated. You will, of course, perceive, already, that I cannot possibly allude to any of those persons. The persons whom I have immediately in my eye are those who have published remarks, commentaries, and illustrations on this famous Report, which Report, I venture to predict, will become, hereafter, a document of much greater account than, I dare say, the extreme modesty of its authors will suffer them to anticipate.

I address myself to the *Labouring Classes*, in which I include, all tradesmen and farmers; for, they all labour in their several ways; they all pay taxes and receive nothing out of the taxes; and they all contribute towards the luxuries which are enjoyed by Sinecurists, Pensioners, and Grantees. It is the fashion, amongst the sons and daughters of Corruption, to speak of you all as being "*The Lower Orders*." There were formerly only *three orders* in England: *King, Lords, and Commons*, in which last were included the *whole body of the people*. For that is the meaning of the word *commons*. But, of late years, the word

has been interpreted to mean nothing but those select gentlemen, who get (in what way you know very well) seats in the Lower House of Parliament, where, according to the Constitution and the *Laws of England, every man in the kingdom is supposed to be present.* Ignorance of the law is no plea in defence of any man accused of a breach of it. Suppose, for instance, a trespasser, who should have been taken up under the recent game-act, had pleaded, that he had *no knowledge of such a law having been passed.* The ATTORNEY GENERAL, or his worthy associate, Mr. SHEPHERD, would instantly have turned to Judge Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England, and there he would have found it written, Book I. Chap. 2., "*Every man is, in judgment of law, party to making an act of parliament, being present thereat by his representative.*" And, again, in Book IV. Chap. 1. "*The lawfulness of punishing criminals is founded upon this principle, that the law by which they suffer was made by their own consent.*" If the trespasser were to reply, and say, "*it is unlawful to make me suffer, then, in this case, who never was suffered to vote at an election in all my life,*" I know not what answer "*Mr. Attorney*" (by way of eminence) might give him; but, this doctrine shows, at any rate, that our forefathers meant by *Commons*, the whole body of the people, and that they never made any attempts to divide the people into *upper and lower orders.* Now-a-days every Paper-Money fellow, from the highest of them to the lowest, talks of the "*Lower Orders,*" in which he never thinks of including his sharpening, greedy, worthless, and ignorant self while his novel-reading wife and daughters turn up their noses, and bend their skinny and

smoky necks on one side, while they talk of the ignorance of the "*peasantry.*"

Leaving the tax-eaters to enjoy their fancied superiority as long as they can, let us now proceed to our examination of what has been written on this *Sinecure Report*, and, as far as prudence will permit, on the Report itself.

But, first of all, how came there to be any report upon the subject? This is of no consequence, because, in the examination of any document, a knowledge of circumstances that gave rise to it is generally necessary, in order to enable us to form a just estimate of its contents, or of the measures that it recommends. It is perfectly notorious, then, that all the Petitions for Reform stated the existence of *Sinecures, Pensions, and Grants*, as one of the evils which had been produced for want of such Reform. This subject of complaint had been discussed at all the public meetings. And, though the Fundholders and other Paper Money people would not join in those meetings, and even approved of the measures adopted to suppress them, and to take away the personal safety of the people, still *they* also looked at these *Sinecures, and Pensions, and Grants*, with a disapproving eye. They grudged them to the holders, and the more especially as those holders belonged chiefly to the *Noble Families*, whom the Paper Nobility mortally hate, though they *pull along with them against the people*, upon the same principle that different Orders of Monks, or, indeed, of Priests of any sort, (those of the Established Churches of England and Scotland always excepted!) closely combine against all the rest of the world, while they detest each other, and mutually devote their rivals to everlasting perdition.

But, it was the voice of those hundreds of thousands who petitioned for a Reform,

that produced this Report, notwithstanding the fact, as we shall presently see, has been attempted to be disguised; lest, I suppose, it should be inferred, that the yielding (in *appearance* at least) to one of the prayers of the people, should encourage them to hope for a yielding, in the end, to the whole of their prayers in reality. At any rate, it is always to be kept in mind that an abolition of *Sinecurists*, &c. was prayed for; and, in proof of this fact, suffer me here to refer to the Hampshire Petition, which complained of these things in the following words:

"That, as to *Sinecures*, and *Pensions* and *Grants*, not fully merited by well known public services, your Petitioners do hope, that, at a time like the present, your honourable House will not suppose it possible that they can be endured, especially when your honourable House sees on the one hand, the poor houses crowded with paupers who have seen better days, the jails swarming with debtors whom no degree of care and industry has been able to save from ruin, whole millions of starving creatures, who, when they open their eyes in the morning, know not where to find the means of breaking their fast; and, when your honourable House turning to the other hand, sees the *Sinecurists*, *Pensioners*, and *Grantees*, shining with all the brilliancy of wealth, and indulging in all the enjoyments of luxury, each individual of some of whom having, as your Petitioners are able to prove at the bar of your honourable House, received, annually, more money out of the public taxes than would be sufficient to maintain a thousand of the families who largely contribute towards the paying of those taxes; nor need your Petitioners remind your honourable House that there are some of those individuals, each of whom has, within

"the last thirty years, received from the aforesaid source much more than half a million of principal money, and if your Petitioners were to say nearly a million of money, their statement would only approach nearer to the truth."

Such was the nature of our complaint. We shall see, by-and-by, *how* it has been attended to; but, the moment the REPORT came out, the hireling press set to work to endeavour to make it a ground or calumniating our petitions. "HERE," said the hirelings, "*here*, after all the exaggerated statements, made to delude the poor ignorant people; *here* is the proof that the whole of these places amounted to only *one hundred thousand pounds a year*." On the 7th of April the COURIER published the Report, and, in the very same paper, it published the following remarks, which, I verily believe, it would not have published if it had not been well assured, as it thought, that my observations on it never would see the light in England. And here, my friends and fellow-countrymen, let me congratulate myself on the step I took to secure my personal freedom. I defy the Attorney-General, aided by his keen associate, Mr. SHEPHERD, whom I shall never forget, to find any thing in this Number to prosecute according to law, tight and severe as that law is; I defy the magistrates to discover any thing contrary even to the rules of the Circular of Lord Sidmouth; but, I could not have defied, for one single moment, the Warrants of Lord SIDMOUTH and of his worthy colleagues, CASTLEREAGH and BATHURST, which latter has particular charge of the Island of St. Helena. No, I could not have set those warrants at defiance, if I had remained in England; but, now I can; and I can safely discuss this important subject without passing the

line drawn even by the libel law in England, as it now stands. I said to you and my countrymen in general, before my departure, that it was not my intention, nor was it my wish to *publish libels*; that I would publish *here* nothing which the *law* would not permit me to publish in England. I am, by no rule of morality, bound to forbear thus; but, I am resolved that no one shall have a colour of complaint of my taking any advantage of my safety here to do against our enemies what the *law* would have rendered it unsafe to do *before the recent Acts*. I have published nothing here which I have not forwarded to be published in England; and, if any of those writings be the subject of a trial before a *Common Jury*, or even before a *Special Jury*, upon which there shall be no man *who lives on the taxes*, and if a verdict of *guilty* be found and recorded, I will acknowledge myself to be a *guilty man*, and will *pledge myself never to write for the press again*. No man's conduct can be fairer than this. But, when I know whether the Power-of-Imprisonment act be kept in force after the stipulated time, namely, the month of *July*, then I shall, with my two sons, petition the Prince Regent; and, if that petition have not the desired effect, we shall then resort to *all the means* that we have in our power, consistent with the allegiance that we owe to the king, and the duty which we owe to our country.

The remarks of the *COURIER*, as alluded to above, were in these words: "This day we insert the first Report of the Parliamentary Committee of Retrenchment, which recommends a *very sweeping and extensive abolition of Sinecure Places throughout the three Kingdoms*. We know of *no other sinecures besides these*, and consequently the abolition is *as complete as the most zealous reformer can desire*. And to what would the

"saving amount even if we could at present enjoy the full advantage of it? To *one hundred thousand pounds per annum*: the sum voted every session for the repair of the *Highland roads and bridges*. Such is the *gross delusion which has been practised on the public!* To the existence of sinecure places and pensions; have been mainly imputed our financial embarrassments, though the whole amount of them would scarcely pay the *expense of printing occasioned in Parliament by the Reformers*. The Reformers well know that little or nothing could be saved by the abolition of sinecures; but the Jacobin part of them raised the clamour to create a hatred of the support of a government they wished to overthrow, and the Foxite opposition half of them seconded the clamour, in hopes of obtaining a possession of that government, which they would no doubt maintain by increased extravagance, as they did ten years ago. But from these abolitions the public cannot save even the sum expended on the *Highland roads and bridges*. The reforms cannot take place during the lives of the incumbents, and in lieu of sinecures, deserving public servants are to receive pensions. Thus the change will ultimately increase the public expense, if the observation in the House of Lords, lately made by a Scotch Earl of *undoubted ability*, was well founded, namely, that Sinecures were economical, as five or six persons would wait for the fall of a Sinecure, who, if they were to be rewarded by a pension, would *insist on it immediately*. Thus one sinecure would go as far as half a dozen pensions. The Committee, of course, recommend pensions as the reward of *public services*; and every change of the Ministry may thus entail on the country an additional bur-

"then of 40 or 50,000*l.* per annum! So much for the *economy of the clamorous Reformers*, ignorant or false, factious, and malignant. But, we trust, the Committee will find real sources of saving to the public. In this Report they have given *ample proof* of their *sincerity, energy, and expedition*, and have shown themselves entitled to that confidence which Mr. Wilberforce refused them."

How desperate must a case be, when its advocates are even tempted to resort to falsehoods so flagrant as these! The man who owns the *COURIER* is a very base and prostituted man. A very *wretch*, in the worst possible sense of that word. But even a very wretch does not voluntarily put forward his claim to contempt. He will not step aside an inch from his interest to avoid infamy on his character; but, he will not voluntarily seek infamy, when the act he is about to commit can be of no benefit to him. True, such a man cannot render himself *more infamous* than he already is: but, still, ugly as a fellow may be, there are few except the base imitators of the whiskered Germans, who voluntarily add to their ill-looks. STEWART, the proprietor of the *COURIER*, has amassed an immense sum of money, which he has in the funds, I believe; and, I dare say, that he would wish, like other gentry, who have amassed their money by means full as honest, to enjoy his fortune quietly, and to leave it to somebody after his death. Nothing but sheer desperation, therefore, could have urged him to this act of fraud, so easily proved to the conviction of the offender, who well knows, that it is quite impossible for him to breathe the air of *freedom and justice* in England.

Here is, we are told, "a *sweeping and extensive abolition* of sinecure places throughout the three kingdoms. We know of no other sinecures beside these,

and, consequently, the abolition is as complete as the most zealous Reformer can desire." And then we are told, that all these "sinecures amount to one hundred thousand pounds per annum." Now, in the first place, there is *no abolition at all*. There is nothing *done* by the Parliament yet; and, there is nothing *recommended to be done*, which can be called an *abolition*. For it is not even recommended to the House to do away any place or any emolument, during the *lives of the present possessors*! No, nor during the lives of their *successors*, where the places are granted in reversion, that is to say, as in the case of OLD GEORGE ROSE, whose place is to *descend* to his son YOUNG GEORGE ROSE, and who, of course, will enjoy it after him, notwithstanding this famous Report, if things could go on so long without a Reform in the Parliament! This is a pretty sort of abolition!

We will talk of the *amount* of the Sinecures by-and-by; but, amount to what they will, what relief can this measure, even if put in force, afford to the nation? The nation is in misery; it is sinking under the weight of its taxes; part of these taxes go to the paying of the Sinecures; and, in order to *relieve* the poor, distressed, miserable people, who are in such a state of starvation, that a sum of nearly two millions is to be lent to the parishes to enable them to keep the poor alive; in order to afford this miserable people *relief*, the Sinecures are to be abolished *at the end of the lives of the present possessors and that of their successors*, or, at the soonest, at the end of the lives of the present possessors! This is like the Bank of England's promise, not to *pay*, but to *promise to pay*. It is like the calculations about paying off what is called the National Debt. It is like Governor Sancho's feast. It is like the herds and flocks marching away from the hungry multitudes, who rear them, to be de-

voured by the Fundholders and the swarms who live upon the taxes. It is like a leg of mutton and turnips in sculpture. It is like the piece of bread and cheese, which a waggish carpenter chalked me out upon a board, when I was a little boy, and was worrying my mother for my dinner. It is like every thing in the world, which speaks promise to the eye and the ear, and which is totally destitute of reality.

I think I have heard it said, some nine or ten thousand times, by CASTLEREAGH, by VANSITTART, by CANNING, by SIDMOUTH, by LIVERPOOL, by WALTER, by SOUTHEY, by STEWART, by GIFFORD, and by many, many others: indeed, by the whole tribe; that these evils are of a *temporary* nature! That they have arisen merely from a *sudden transition from war to peace*;" and, that things will *speedily* come about again. So, then, in order to meet this temporary evil, which is, to use CANNING'S Eton phrase, "only for a moment obscuring the face of the *"Glorious Sun"* (of taxation, I suppose he meant;) to meet this immediate and pressing evil, *Sinecures* are to be abolished in the *next age*! "*Sweeping and extensive* abolition!" Wonderful relief!

I say in the *next age*, at soonest; for, though there be *Sinecure Placemen* and *Place women* of all stages in life, from four score, perhaps, down to *four minutes*. Only think of a placeman *four minutes old*! Yet this must be frequently the case, for some of these good things descend to *heirs*. The late Mr. Fox and his brother the General, were placemen almost in their cradle. Lord ROYSTON, the son of the Earl of HARDWICKE, who died a little boy, a few years ago, would, if he had lived 'til now, been receiving the amount of an Irish *Sinecure* of *eleven thousand pounds a year*, which, to make assurance doubly sure, the Right Honour-

able and Noble Earl had obtained in reversion for *another son after Lord Royston*; but, as ill-luck would have it, both the boys died before the *Sinecure* became vacant by the death of the late Earl of Buckinghamshire; and the Noble Earl of Hardwicke lost sons and *sinecure* too. However, as there has been discovered to be a "*surplus population*" in the country, the loyalty and public spirit of the Noble Earl will have tended to make him moderate his grief, especially, when he considered that his sons were destined to eat without working

There are *Sinecure* placemen of all stages in life, and so there are of the rest of the people. Some of the *Sinecure* placemen are very old, and must die soon. But, some of those who pay the taxes to support them are also very old, and must die soon. So that, it is physically impossible, unless some extraordinary disease, peculiar to them, should seize the *Sinecure Place-men*; unless this should be the case, it is physically impossible that the *present generation* should, take us altogether, derive any benefit from any measure recommended by this Report, this famous, this patriotic Report, "*this sweeping and extensive* abolition of *Sinecures*!"

I knew very well, that *no abolition* could take place; no *real* abolition, unless a Reform of Parliament took place. Because, in fact, there could be no power equal to that of *taking away* the *Sinecures*, which would not have been equal to the taking away of the possession of the *patronage* and the *proprietaryship* of the Boroughs. And, therefore, the moment I saw the Report in the *Courier*, I ran my eye hastily along to see what was said about the *time* of the *abolition*. It did not run far before it came to the all-important following words: "The view which your Commit-

"tee have taken of the two offices of the
 " *Chief Justice in Eyre*, North and South
 " of Trent, is, that they may be abolished
 " ed without detriment to the public service,
 " vice, and the emoluments thereof be
 " come a future saving to the public :
 " REGARD having been had in these
 " AS WELL AS IN EVERY OTHER
 " OFFICE, which forms the subject of
 " this Report, 'TO EXISTING INTE
 " RESTS !' That is to say, no office,
 no place, no emolument, however enormous,
 is to be taken away 'til the death
 of the present possessor, and, in cases
 like that of GEORGE ROSE, not 'til the
 death of the son of the present possessor !
 And this is the measure which is called
 a "Sweeping and extensive abolition of
 "Sinecures as complete as the most
 "zealous Reformer can wish !"

No: what we prayed for was a real
 abolition, such as should give the suffering
 people relief; and to give them relief,
 it must, of course, take place directly.
 But, this the COURIER, in a paragraph
 subsequent to the one I have quoted above,
 says, in answer, I suppose, to some one
 who had pointed out this postponement
 as being fatal to all real benefit; he says,
 that this would be "CONFISCATION,"
 and this was what CANNING meant,
 I imagine, when he said, that Reform
 was "confiscation, desolation, and carnage."
 Yes, to take away his sinecure (for he long
 has had one) would be "confiscation, desolation,
 and carnage !" Indeed, the sinecures are
 the touchstone, together with the Pen-
 sions and grants, of which we shall speak
 by-and-by; for these are the oil that sets
 and keeps all the wheels of the System
 in motion; and, they form, besides, the
 great bridle in the mouth of those who
 are very impatient under the dominating
 riches of the Fundholders, to whom they
 would gladly give a check; but, they
 well know that it is impossible to touch

the Fundholder without first stripping
 themselves of the Sinecures, Pensions,
 and Grants. This is the cement which
 holds the two together. And, besides,
 the STAFF of the army swallows up an
 immensity of money; and, let any one
 look into the List of that Staff, and he
 will there find who it is that really re-
 ceives and pockets this immense sum.

The COURIER says, that it would be
 confiscation to take people's Salaries and
 fees from them, and, of course, to put
 them out of their "offices." Now, it is
 not thought confiscation to take away the
 pay of Soldiers, or of Sailors and Mid-
 shipmen, when their services are no
 longer wanted; but, it would be confis-
 cation to take away the pay of those
 who fill offices, to which no duty and no
 danger are attached! This pay is, with
 the COURIER, as sacred as "Church Pro-
 perty;" and, according to him, it is a
 great deal more sacred: for, part of the
 Church Property has been taken away
 and applied to the payment of the Fund-
 holders by what is called the redemption
 of the Land Tax, in virtue of which part
 of the Church Property was sold, and
 the amount paid over to the Government.
 Nay; the Parliament have passed Acts
 to compel the possessors of Church Liv-
 ings to make such and such allowances to
 Curates, not only in money, but in occu-
 pancy of parsonage Houses and Glebes.
 Now, this was an outrageous violation of
 the Property of those who owned Liv-
 ings, or who possessed them for life; or,
 it showed that the Parliament regarded
 this Property as public property, over
 which it had an absolute control; for, if
 it could dispose of a part, it could dis-
 pose of the whole of this property; and,
 if it could dispose of it in one way, it
 could dispose of it in another way. Nay,
 at this very moment the Parliament has
 before it a proposition for enabling the
 present possessors of Church Livings to

bind their successors in the leasing of the very *tythes*, a project which must produce the total alienation of such property; for, who ever heard of a stoop of good liquor being forsaken as long as there was a drop of it left? This is a tap which the Fundholders (who all abuse the Parsons) have long wished to set a running; and, though I greatly prefer these latter to an insolent, ignorant, upstart aristocracy of Paper-Money, I must confess, that their recent conduct towards the Reformers, who prayed for nothing from the Parliament which the parsons ought not to have prayed for in their Churches, makes me anticipate their fate without any feeling of sorrow or compassion.

Therefore, supposing the sinecures of Rose, Steel, Canning, Wm. Gifford, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Sidmouth's son, Mr. Charles Yorke, Lord Grenville, Mr. Villiers, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and the rest of them to be *as sacred* as the property of the Church, here are plenty of proofs to show, that it was not *too sacred* to be freely handled by the Parliament. But, as every man must see, it is quite a different thing; for, while the property of the Church consists of *Houses, Lands, Trees*, and of a *Charge upon the Land*, under the name of *Tythes*; while this property is all of a visible and permanent nature; while it is subject to none of the vicissitudes of finance; while its tenure goes back to the remotest ages of civilization in England and Ireland; the Sinecure places have arisen from the mere pleasure of Princes and Ministers; and have, as to *services or duties*, become, from time to time, *wholly obsolete*, which cannot, at any rate, be said of the Church. And, while the church has its income arising from the *land* directly, with ample powers of distraint in cases of *House and land*, and of taking in kind in

case of *Tythe*; while its property consists of Lordships of Manors, of other real estates, and of a part of the produce of other real estates, collected by means the most regular, efficient, and certain, the income of the Sinecure Gentlemen, *arises out of the taxes*, which may, or may not, (as is the case at present,) yield a sufficient sum to pay these gentlemen, without leaving some other department of expense, or debt, unsatisfied; unless, indeed, the Sinecure Gentlemen pretend which, now I think of it, they do,) that *their claim on the taxes is prior* to that of the *Fundholders*; and that, too, upon the principle that every thing else must give way to the salvation of a nation, and that their quiet enjoyment of their incomes is absolutely necessary to the salvation of England, Scotland, and Ireland!

What! Is *the resuming of a grant* an act of "*injustice*." How many acts of confiscation have, then, been committed by the Parliaments of England. How many acts of "confiscation" could I find and produce, if I could once get to *any bar* to plead the cause of the nation against the *Courier*! And yet, at a moment like this, when the tax-payers are in such a state that money is borrowed on Exchequer Bills to enable the parishes to keep the labouring classes from real starvation, these gentlemen put forward their claim to a portion of the taxes upon the ground of *indefeasible right*! Surely, before *many years* are over their heads, they will relax a little in this their claim!

Having now seen, that *no abolition* is even intended to take place, during the *PRESENT GENERATION*, let us next inquire a little into the *AMOUNT* of the *sinecures*. The *Courier* asserts, that they amount to *ONLY one hundred thousand pounds a year*; and, says he, "what

“an exposure this is of the *base exaggerations of the Jacobin Reformers!*”

Now, I do not know, that any reformer ever said, that the *sinecures* amounted to more than this sum. We never talked of *sinecures alone*, but, as will be seen in the foregoing extract from the Hampshire petition, we complained of *sinecures, pensions, and grants*, not fully “merited by *well-known public services* ;” and, we never pretended, that the whole together amounted, in *themselves*, to a very large sum, *compared with the whole of the enormous expenditure* ; but, we said, that they were the *cause* of a very large portion of that expenditure, while they formed, in *themselves*, no small sum.

However, I will first show, that, if it be *true*, that the committee have recommended to abolish, in the *next generation*, only such *sinecures* as amount to 100,000 pounds per annum, even the *next generation* will have to pay the far greater part of the *sinecures*, of which we complained. I shall here, in the first instance, include that of LORD CAMDEN, because his lordship, though a very “*bright star*,” as WILBERFORCE called him, did not drop from the firmament, did not dart away from that effulgent constellation, in which Lord Arden, the Wellesleys, William Gifford, Canning, and the rest shine with such brilliancy, ‘til *after a million and a half of reformers* had called aloud for the extinguishing of the whole of these luminaries. Therefore, in my first view of this matter, I shall include his lordship’s neat little sum, which was one, at least, of the things which we cried out against.

Nor must I, for *this time*, omit the late Marquis of Buckingham ; for, it was for years that we put that most noble person at the head of our list ; and, who knows, that our complaints on that head did not prevent the giving of his pay to a successor ? The document, to which I shall refer, is an account, laid before the House of Commons in 1808, on the *motion* of LORD COCHMANE, who, from that day to this, has been an object of the deadly hatred of the basest and most implacable of his country’s enemies. However, the account was *printed*, by order of the house ; and, though I am fully convinced, that all the sums are stated *as low as possible*, I will take the sums as I find them in this official document, presented by PERCEVAL himself, and ordered to be printed by the house, who have *not had any such account published since that time*, and who, I dare say, will *never do the like again*. In this account, the names and sums of the following *sinecures* are to be found, and thus they stood, of course, before the Marquis of Buckingham’s death, in 1814.

	Pounds a year.
Lord Arden’s,	38,574
Mr. Garier’s,	12,158
Earl of Buckinghamshire’s, .	11,094
Hon. Thos. Knox, and V. Knox,	10,023
Marquis of Buckingham’s, .	23,093
Marquis Camden’s,	23,117
	—
	118,059

Thus, then, in 1814, these *six sinecures* amounted to more than 100,000 pounds. LORD CAMDEN surrendered his, or, at least, the greater part of it, in Fe-

bruary last, *after* all our "clamour," as it is called; and, therefore, I must include it in my next statement.

	Pounds a year
Marquis Camden's,	23,117
Hon. T. Knox and V. Knox's,	10,023
Lord Arden's,	38,574
Mr. Garier's,	12,158
Earl of Buckinghamshire's	11,094
Lord Henry and Lord Robert Seymour, }	12,511
	<hr/> 107,477

Thus, then, these *six* sinecures amounted to more than the 100,000 pounds a year of the Courier. But, let us see WHAT WE HAVE LEFT; and, whether we cannot still muster the 100,000 pounds a year, without going very far.

	Pounds a year
Hon. T. and V. Knox's,	10,023
Lord Arden's,	38,574
Mr. Garier's,	12,158
Earl of Buckinghamshire's,	11,094
Lord H and Lord R. Seymour's,	12,511
Lord Ellenborough's,	7,591
Hon. S. Kenyon, (Lord Kenyon's brother) }	4,986
John Ley,	8,010
Thomas Thurlow,	5,720
Marquis Wellesley and W. Pole,	4,201
	<hr/> 114,868

Here, then, I have proved to you, the laborious classes, that either the COURIER has published an atrocious falsehood, or, that the committee do not recommend enough to be done, *even for the next generation*. But, I must not stop here. The impudence of this statement of the COURIER (who has no *promptors*, of course,) is not yet half exposed. We

see, that there are, during the whole of this generation, to be *ten* sinecures left, which amount to more than 100,000 pounds a year; but, if the COURIER speaks truth, *all the rest* are to remain even *after* this generation shall all be in their graves. And, *what is that rest*, think you? Why, the amount, in *England, Ireland, and Scotland*, leaving out *the colonies*, of which we shall speak by-and-by, to more than *a hundred* sinecure places, and the whole sum they amount to exceeds *a hundred and fifty thousand pounds* a year! So that, together with those stated to be still in existence, as above, the whole annual sum, which the nation has to pay on this account during the present generation is more than two hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, and during future generations to more than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year! And yet this impudent hireling, while he tells us that the taking off of 100,000 pounds a year *in the next generation*, is all that this committee, with the utmost degree of "*sincerity, energy, and expedition*," have been able to accomplish, he bids the people look upon this "as " a *sweeping* abolition of sinecures, " as *complete* as the most zealous reformer " can wish!"

Thus, then, I have already fulfilled my promise, and have stripped this deception stark naked. But, we are still only BEGINNING the exposure. We are only upon the threshold of this immense and dark labyrinth; and, with Mr. COURIER's permission (for he is the dog that guards the den) we will walk in, taking the torch of truth in our hands, and poking our heads into every hole and corner. I am aware,

that we shall be accused of ill-manners for doing this; I am aware, that the COURIER will call us a Swinish Multitude, and will say, that it is a shame for such fellows to break in upon the privacy of so many delicate ladies and gentlemen, of all ages, some of them tottering on the verge of the grave, and others coming in to their teens. I am aware, that there are others, who will call you, *poor deluded creatures*, and me a designing, artful spreader of "*poison*" and "*venom*." But, in spite of all this, in I mean to walk, and, if you are disposed to follow me, come on!

An account of our discoveries will be given in my next. In the mean while I remain most sincerely your friend,

WM. COBBETT.

June 23d, 1817.

Post Script. Since my last but one, in which I noticed the loan intended to be made to the parishes, I have received a newspaper, containing a little more information upon this subject, than I then possessed. In this paper, I find the following statement: "*Employment of the poor.*" "In the House of Commons on Monday night, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward his plan for the employment of the poor. The sums proposed to be voted are, for England, 1,500,000*l.* in Exchequer Bills; and for Ireland, 250,000*l.* out of the Consolidated Fund of that kingdom. Commissioners are to be appointed, who are to be empowered to advance loans to Corporations and other Bodies, for the purpose of making Harbours or Ca-

nals, or to Trustees of Roads, or to any persons engaged in public works now in progress, or about to undertake them. Advances are to be made on the security of the Poor-Rates in England. No advance to be made to any parish, except in cases in which the rate was double the average of the two preceding years. Manufacturers of Birmingham and other places to be assisted with loans. The 250,000*l.* to be voted for Ireland, is to be employed in the completion of public works, or the encouragement of the fisheries. The Exchequer Bills are to be payable in the year 1820. Security to be taken for the payment of the several advances by instalments, so that the whole shall be repaid by the time the Exchequer Bills become payable by the state. However, if it be deemed expedient to allow a further time, the Commissioners are to be empowered to extend it for six or seven years, from the period of making the loan. The interest on the advances is to be five per cent. The Exchequer Bills bear only an interest of $3\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The difference, therefore, between $3\frac{1}{4}$ and 5 per cent, is intended to defray the expenses of the Commissioners, and the other charges attending the loan. In case of any failure in payment, the Crown is not to have priority over any other creditor, except with the consent of the creditors themselves. The resolutions proposed are agreed to, and are to be taken into further consideration on Friday, when a bill, embodying the details of the plan, will be introduced. It

" was generally agreed that the utmost
 " possible despatch should be used. The
 " objections to the measure were, that
 " the encouragement to prosecute public
 " works would tend further to depress the
 " price of land ; that it would be better
 " to advance money for the cultivation of
 " the waste lands, and the promoting the
 " inland navigation of the country ; that
 " the Manufactures did not want capital,
 " but markets ; that the advance of mo-
 " ney would not find them markets ; that
 " with respect to the Poor's Rates, the
 " relief to be afforded was in cases where
 " the rates had become so high as to be
 " nearly bankrupt. What valid security,
 " then, would they give for repayment of
 " loans."—" But these objections," the
 Courier says, " whatever weight may be
 " in them, fades away before the necessity
 " of the case. Distress is occasioned by
 " the want of employment for the poor.
 " The plan tends to relieve that distress
 " in the best possible way, by furnishing
 " employment. The relief afforded may
 " not extend to all cases ; but do not let
 " us, because we cannot apply a com-
 " plete and perfect remedy, reject a par-
 " tial one."

Pray, mark these concluding words !
 What, then, the " necessity of the case"
 is so pressing, that objections of weight,
 " all fade away before it." This neces-
 sity must be CANNING's " Glorious Sun,"
 to be sure ? For its powers of fading seem
 to be seriously great. It is generally in
 the nature of the rays of the sun to vivi-
 fy and cheer ; but, this sun of CANNING
 and STEWART, withers things up. But,
 if you remember, these persons, and the

like of them, the GIFFORDS, the SOU-
 THEYS, and all the tribe, charged us with
exaggerating the distress. They said,
 that we *invented* stories of wo. They
 said, that we represented the country as
 ruined, because we *wished* it to be so ;
 and not because it *was* so. And, they
 themselves now say, that this scheme,
 however *objectionable*, must be adopted
 on account of the pressing *necessity* of the
 case. It was generally agreed, that " the
 " utmost possible despatch should be used."
 Bless us ! They are in a terrible haste !
 They were *slower* in their movements
 some time back.

My good, suffering countrymen ; you,
 whose kind wishes do, I am sure, follow
 me in my retreat from before the war-
 rants of Castlereagh and Sidmouth ; you
 will not need to hear repeated, in this
 place, all, or any of, my *predictions* re-
 lative to this subject. You will recollect
 that, for the last 13 years, I have fore-
 told, that ruin to the nation must be the
 result of pursuing the present system. At
 the very time, when the deluded (*really*
 deluded) people, were induced to rejoice
 at the success over Napoleon ; when the
 roasting of Oxen, the ringing of Bells,
 the Fêtes in the Parks, and all the other
 delusions were going on ; I *then*, in the
 midst of all that, called upon my coun-
 trymen to prepare for days of most ter-
 rible calamity and misery. I *then*, told
 them, that the price of the restoration of
 the Bourbons would be the destruction of
 liberty and of happiness in England. In
 1814, in February, I went to Mr. WA-
 RING's, at Pear-Tree Green, near South-
 ampton, to look at his Drilling-Machine ;

and, being invited into the parlour, where the ladies were at breakfast, one of them asked me whether I did not believe that Napoleon would soon be put down. I said, I did not know what to *think*, but, that I *hoped* he would not. "Lord! Mr. Cobbett!" they all exclaimed, "Why do you hope so?" "Because," said I, "I do not wish GEORGE ROSE to have *his foot upon my neck*: it is quite enough in all conscience for him to have his hand in my pocket." "But," said Mr. WARING, "how would the fall of NAPOLEON tend to bring Rose's foot upon your neck?" "You will see, replied I, if that fall should take place." If Mr. WARING should read this Register, he will remember that conversation, and will be able to judge, whether the prediction be, or be not, now fulfilled, except indeed, that a local change has put my neck beyond the reach of George's foot.

When Napoleon was finally in the fangs of his enemies, did I join in the exultation? No: I said, that the *reckoning remained to be paid*, "the dreadful account remained to be settled," and that miseries unnumbered were in store for those who were then drunk with joy at their fancied success! This very hireling slave, the owner of the COURIER, exclaimed, when he gave the account of Napoleon's capture, or, rather, of his surrender. "The play is over! We may now sit down to supper!" "No!" said I, "we cannot sit down to supper yet, we have not paid the expenses of the play: we have no money for a supper: our heads are turned with *glory*: but our bellies and our hearts will have to be pinched

"and wrung for years and years yet to come."

In the face of all the boastings and all the delusions of the last five years, I have continued to predict ruin and misery. I have, over and over again, detailed the causes, and described the effects that would arise from those causes; and, I have all along said, that, at last, the several ranks of the people would be pressed down, one upon another, " 'til, in the end, there would be *no means left of feeding the poor out of the taxes.*" Would it not have been better, then for the Parliament to have listened to my advice, than to have armed SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH with Warrants to put people into prison at their pleasure? I told Mr. VANSITTART, long and long ago, that his situation was very different from that of PETT in 1794; that "*the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus would now give no assistance, seeing that it was misery, and not sedition, or pretended sedition, that he had to contend with.*" I said this in *print*, more than two years ago; for even then I expected *all, yea all*, that has now come to pass. On the night when the village of Botley was *illuminated*, and the windows decorated with laurel, and while I was sitting in my parlour in a more serious mood than I have hardly ever been in at any other hour of my life, my wife endeavoured to cheer me up, by observing, that the people would, in time, see their error: "Yes," said I, "Nancy, but they will see it when it will be too late. Great and terrible sufferings will be brought upon this nation; and, though

" we are innocent, do not flatter yourself
 " that we shall escape our full share of
 " those sufferings. I have acted too con-
 " spicuous a part to be now silent. I
 " must keep on; and, rely upon it, that
 " when the system comes into its last
 " agonies, it will make most desperate
 " struggles, and, in laying its arms about
 " it, it will first strike those who foretold
 " its death. We may survive it all and
 " live happily in a happy country; but,
 " prepare your mind for the worst that
 " can happen, and then you will not suffer
 " from disappointment." And so she did;
 for when I sent for her to London, about
 ten days previous to my departure, and
 communicated to her my resolution, she
 received the intelligence without a tear,
 and, indeed, she was relieved from it by
 the horrid apprehensions of what might
 befall her two eldest sons, in consequence
 of the vengeance which her own heart as-
 sured her they would infallibly take, if
 their father were crammed into a dun-
 geon. She scorned all idea of a compro-
 mise with corruption, of any sort, or in
 any degree, express or tacit. She con-
 jured me to have no thoughts for her; for,
 that she would sooner work for her bread
 to the end of her life, than that I should
 yield one inch to my enemies: in which
 sentiments she was joined by all my chil-
 dren old enough to reason on the subject,
 and by no one more cordially than by my
 sensible, affectionate, dutiful, and brave
 daughter Nancy.

Well, my kind hearted countrymen, on
 whose indulgence I rely upon this occa-
 sion, all my forebodings and foretellings

have been verified to the very letter.
There is the system! Look at it! Is it, or
 is it not, in its *last agonies*? and, does it
 not make desperate struggles and plunges?
 It has got power-of-imprisonment bills;
 it has got new treason bills; it has got se-
 dition bills; it has got new checks on the
 press. But, as I have a thousand times
 told the old crazy thing, these will not
 enable it to *pay the fundholders*, or to *feed*
the poor. And, we now see the crazy
 thing, talking by its oracle, the *Courier*,
 about *borrowing money* to be lent to help
 to feed the poor, while those very poor
 are invited to put their *surplus* earnings
 into *Saving Banks*! We see the crazy
 thing proposing to lend money to add to
 the quantity of manufactures, while one
 immediate cause of the misery is, that
 there is no sale for one half of the manu-
 factures now made. — We see it proposing
 to lend money to encourage the fisheries,
 to add to the quantity of human food,
 while it has a bill to keep up the price of
 corn, the cheapness of corn having, as the
 crazy thing asserted, been the cause of
temporary distress. We hear it now com-
 plaining of a *surplus population*, while,
 only last year, it complained of a *surplus*
of food, and while, only five years ago it
 cited the increase of the population as an
undeniable proof of the increased pros-
 perity and power and wealth of the coun-
 try.

But, amidst all this crazy work, there
 peeps out a fact, sufficient, one would
 think, to stun a mad creature into its
 senses; and, that is, that, though a mil-
 lion and a half of pounds are to go to assist

the parishes in Great Britain, none of it is to be advanced to any parish, the poor rates in which have not, during the last year, amounted to *DOUBLE the average amount of the rates of the two preceding years!* So that, if the misery fall short of double the quantity of the misery of either of the two last years, it is not yet enough to call for relief!

Can such a state of things last? The very hirelings themselves say, "no." But, they hold out hopes that things will *come about!* So they did *last year*; so they did the *year before*; and so they will *next year*, even though they should be unable to show how another meal for the poor is to be purchased; and though the "*sudden transition from war to peace*" will then no longer serve their turn, even with the base ideots, whose last acre is sliding away from under them.

Why, America had a very sudden transition from war to peace; much more sudden than we had. And, why is there *no misery here?* Here I pay a day-labouring man a *dollar*, in silver, for his day's work, and give him a quart of cider that cannot be bought in England for a *shilling*. And this man buys his veal, and mutton, and pork, at *five pence a pound*, English money. The very same English *salt*, for which you give 20 shillings, English, a bushel, he buys for 3 shillings, English, a bushel. Soap, candles, sugar, tea, tobacco, all for about *two-thirds* of the price that you pay for them of the same quality. I have never yet seen, or heard of a *pauper* or a *beggar*, since I have been here. The cause of this is, that *here* the taxes are so light,

that the people who raise the good things of the world have their full share of the enjoyment of them. Why do you pay 20s. for a bushel of that very same salt that the men here pay only 3s. for? It is *made in England*, and the people here have to pay all the expenses of bringing it here. But then, there is a *salt-tax* for you to pay, which amounts to a *million and a half of pounds a year!* This, my friends, is the cause of your miseries; this *Taxing work*; and not "a sudden transition from war to peace," as the sons and daughters of Corruption would have you believe; and, never, 'til a Reformed Parliament has the guardianship of the nation's purse will you know one day of happiness. Persevere in your principles, and that day is at no great distance. Let your enemies work on. They are safe in the mire. The more they plunge, the deeper they will get. The exposure of them, as long as I am able to use a pen, shall have no limit in its circulation but the limit of the English language. The hirelings affected to *laugh* at my promise to revive my labours. This day ends, however, only the *seventh* week since I landed in America, and this very day I send off to England, my *seventh* Register, having sent off six before, and having published four out of the seven at New-York, word for word, as I send them off to England.

I had nearly forgotten one point, which is of very material consequence. When we said, that the *Soup-Kettle* was not the way to provide for the Labouring Classes; but, that they should not be *taxed* so heavily, and then they would

be able to provide for themselves out of their own earnings; the hirelings of the press turned round upon us, and called us *inhuman* fellows, who did not like to see the people *relieved*. So now, I dare say, they will pretend, that this *million and a half* to be lent to the parishes is a mere *gift* from the Parliament; an act of "*enlightened benevolence*;" a work of pure charity performed by the Ministers and by the rest of the Lords and Gentlemen. Do not believe the hirelings for one moment. It is a million and a half of *the taxes*, which you and others have paid for on your salt, soap, beer, candles, sugar, tea, and other things. It is your *own money* lent to you; and, therefore, though it is non-

sense to suppose, that you will ever pay it back, there will be no harm done in that. Yet you will hear all the hirelings crying up this loan as a proof of the *kindness* and *tenderness* of the Ministers towards the people; as a proof of their great and constant care of the people's welfare! Their tenderness for you has, within the last six months, been shown in so many, and in such strong lights, however, that you can hardly misunderstand it; and, therefore, confiding in your good sense, public spirit, and *real* loyalty, I leave this *tenderness* to be judged of by yourselves; and remain always your faithful friend,

WM. COBBETT.

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